1: Karsten--143 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 224, 411 (1920-29)

"Besides firearms, which are now known to most tribes, the lance and the blowgun are the most important hunting implements of the Ecuadorian Indians. The lance is used for killing big game like the tapir, the wild hog, and the deer, as well as beasts like the jaguar and the bear. With the blowgun and poisoned darrows the Indians hunt birds, monkeys, and other smaller quadrupeds.

For hunting big game and smaller animals the Indians commonly use dogs of a special mixed race which are bred with great care. This is particularly the case with the Jibaros, who are in the habit of making a great feast in honour of their dogs, called 'the feast of the dogs', by which strength and ability for the tracing and pursuing of the game are supposed to be imparted to them."

1: Karsten--155 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 224, 754 (1928-29)

"Certain demoniacal animals and birds, like snakes, the nose-bear, vultures, owls, and hawks, are never shot with poisoned arrows. The poison in that case would entirely lose its efficacy and it would become impossible to bring down any edible animals and birds with it. The animals mentioned, it should be understood, are particularly detested by the Jibaros because they believe that the witch-doctors are in the habit of sending off their magic arrows by these very animals. This superstition of the Jibaros will be further dealt with in the chapters on their religion.

Nor are poisoned arrows nowadays used by the Indians in war. If a human being is killed with a poisoned arrow, that poison can no longer be used for hunting animals that are eaten. An animal killed with such poison would assume the same taste as human flesh, and no Jibaro Indian would dare to touch it."

"When the Indian wants to go out hunting he prepares a number of poisoned arrows. The night before starting, their points are smeared with poison to a length of 2 to 3 cm. and the arrows are then stuck into the earth round the fire so that the poison may partly dry. Otherwise much of it would be brushed off when the arrows are placed in the quiver. The opposite end of the arrow is wound round with wild cotton (ceibo) so that, when the arrow is put into the blowgun, it fits the bore tightly and can be blown out with force. The arrows are kept in a quiver about 25 or 26 cm. long consisting of wild bamboo cane and worn hanging on the stomach from a band round the neck. To the lower end of the quiver [158] a round gourd is attached, provided with a small hole. In this gourd the wild cotton needed for the arrows is kept and pulled out through the hole as it is required.

At the upper end of the quiver hangs a small tool which is of particular interest. Among the Canelos Indians it consists of the extremely sharp jaws of the fish paña (Serrasalmo), among the Jibaros again of the equally sharp nippers of the fresh water crab uriki. When the Indian wants to shoot an animal or a bird he first makes a cut in the arrow with this sharp instrument at the point where the poison ends, so that it will break with the least effort. Experience, it should be noticed, has taught the Indian that certain animals, especially monkeys, but also the bears, when hit by a poisoned arrow, at once pull it out from the body in which case the poison cannot

develop its full efficacy. If, on the other hand, the small operation just mentioned is performed, the arrow at once breaks when the animal tries to extract it, and the poisoned head remains in the body.

With the blowgun the Indians are able to shoot as far as 30 or 40 metres, and in general they display remarkable dexterity with it. The power of resisting the poison is of course different in different animals, and also varies according to the efficaacy [sic] of the poison. Small birds fall at once to the ground in agony, bigger birds generally after a few minutes. Even if the poison does not immediately cause death, yet it brings about a certain paralysis of the muscles and stupefaction, causing the bird to move reluctantly, and if it manages to fly away, it usually does not go far and the Indian, following the direction of its flight, can be sure to catch it in a few moments. Monkeys possess little power of resistance to the arrow-poison and fall to the ground in about five minutes. Bigger animals like the wild hog and the bear cannot be killed with one single arrow, but require several. The bear, for instance, I was told, can only be brought down with some 10 to 30 arrow-shots, according to the action of the poison. The animal is shot after it has taken refuge from the pursuing dogs in a tree. The largest wild animals, like the jaguar and the puma, are seldom hunted with poisoned arrows; to kill them requires a great number of arrows and even then they

would be able to retire to the thickets of the forest where they will die only after several hours."

1: Karsten--162-167 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 224 (1928-29)

"Among the Indians of Ecuador large hunting expeditions are especially undertaken for the great feasts in order to secure a good supply of food; these expeditions last from eight to fifteen days. Among the CANELOS INDIANS the following preparations are made.

Early in the morning of the day when the expedition is to start all hunters assemble in the house of the Indian who makes the feast (called cháyu, 'feaster'). Their wives bring with them the drums which are to be beaten in the house of the 'feaster' at the small drinking-feast that precedes the starting. The hunters, dressed in festival style and each holding his drum, wander in a circle in the middle of the house in slow time, incessantly beating their drums but without chanting. Meanwhile manioc-beer (asua) is being drunk by the hunters and by the other people in the house, the women preparing the drink and serving it to the men. The beer-drinking and the beating of the drums are continued for about one hour. Before leaving the house, the hunters range themselves in a row. An old woman has a gourd ready, containing some mani or earth-nuts. Each grain in the gourd is painted red with roucou (Bixa orellana). In another small gourd she has prepared some crude roucou with which the hunters' faces are to be painted. The old woman also holds a branch of a certain tree with large soft prickles, which the Indians call chini papaya. (1) Each hunter in turn steps forward to

"1. The Canelos Indians call it by this name owing to the similarity of its leaves to the leaves of the cultivated tree Carica papaya."

the old woman, who paints the whole lower part of his face red with roucou and then slightly strikes him on the head, the shoulders, the arms, and the legs with the prickly branch, at the same time saying to him: sinchita callpángi, 'may you run fast'. The hunter thus treated now starts to run away from the house, all the women throwing after him the red mani grains. Then the next hunter steps forward to the old woman, to be treated in the same way, then the following one, and so forth, until the last of them. After the hunters have left, the women pick up the mani grains and eat them.

The hunters, on leaving the house, have gone down to the river where their canoes have been held ready. Afterwards the women also come down there, each carrying the drum of her husband. The drums must go with the hunters on the expedition, but the women must carry them down to the canoes, just as previously they had carried them to the house of the 'feaster'. [163]

It is considered necessary that the hunters should be painted in the face with roucou before they start on the expedition, otherwise they would not be able to catch any game. Similarly, when the women throw upon them mani grains painted red with roucou, this is done for the same purpose, or more strictly speaking, in order that the hunters shall have good luck in general, and especially that they shall be able to catch female monkeys with young. Young monkeys are much appreciated by the Indians who keep them for the purpose of taming them.

While the hunters are away on their expedition, the wife of the 'feaster' takes care not to sweep the house with a broom, but leaves all dirt and waste lying untouched until the hunters return. If she swept the ground and removed the waste, the hunters would be unable to bring home any game.

The Indians on their hunting expeditions travel far away, to uninhabited and often quite unexplored parts, since in the home regions there is little game to be found. Arriving at the district where they propose to hunt they make some provisional shelters whence they undertake smaller expeditions in different directions every day. In the afternoon the hunters return to the shelters with the game killed or the fish caught during the day, and at once prepare and roast it at the fire, preserving it in this form until they arrive home. If the hunters have had good luck, they beat their drums again in the evening and rejoice by drinking manioc-beer.

When the hunters return home from their expedition, they announce their arrival by beating the drums. As soon as the game is brought up, some of the oldest men of the tribe are elected to count it. Each piece of the roasted meat, each bird, each fish caught, is counted by the old men, who form the authorities of the Indians and are called huarayu. Each of the men elected is also to have a share of the game. The 'feaster' now prepares a big banquet, called camari, to which all are invited. When the guests arrive, they are received in a festive way. A table loaded with game and

other kinds of food stands in the background of the house. Close to it one Indian is beating a drum and another playing a flute, while the rest of the men dance slowly to and fro in front of the table. Then they all sit down to eat.

Before the Canelos Indians start on a hunting expedition, they abstain for eight days from eating salt and Indian pepper (útchu). If they eat these things, the dogs will suffer and be unable to scent and hunt anything. During these days of preparation the dogs are also kept tied up in order that they may not eat excrements. If they eat excrements they will, [164] according to the idea of the Indians, be incapable of tracking and hunting animals. --During the eight days mentioned the hunters also abstain from cohabiting with their wives. Otherwise they are supposed to become unable to aim at and shoot the animals and birds with gun or blowpipe.

Whether the hunting expedition is undertaken for a feast or not, the Canelos Indian never omits to paint his face red with roucou before starting. The red paint is supposed to attract animals and birds, and thus to give good luck in hunting. For this reason even the dogs used for hunting are painted before leaving, the fell being profusely coated with crude roucou. The Canelos Indian says that if he does not paint himself with roucou before going to hunt, he will be unable to kill any game.

Besides the body-painting with the seeds of the Bixa orellana, various other charms

are used in hunting by the Indians of Canelos. These charms most commonly consist in small round stones or pebbles, small balls of hair, pieces of wood, etc., found in the stomachs of certain birds or animals. The small stones are generally taken from the stomachs of the birds, especially of the tucan, the paugi, and the wild turkey, which are most appreciated as food and because of their feathers. As soon as the Indian finds such a stone, he washes and dries it carefully and then puts it into a small round gourd which is closed with a tap or a cover and sealed with wax. The Indian only removes this seal and cover when he is to start on a hunting expedition. Then he takes out one of the small stones, and with the powder which has formed itself round it he paints certain ornamental figures on the face, which figures of course are scarcely visible on the skin of the Indian. Then the stone is again put into the gourd, the cover of which is carefully sealed with wax as before. This charm is also taken on the hunting expedition, being kept in the small bag of chambira which the Indian always carries when travelling. He is thus able to renew the facial painting with the small stones whenever he likes. The charms described, which are called misha by the Canelos Indians and yúkka by the Jibaros, are believed to have a wonderful power to attract those very birds from whose bowels the stones have originally been taken. Thus there is a special misha for the tucan, another for the paugi, a third for the wild turkey, and so on, all of which are kept in different small gourds and carried by the Indian hunter when he goes out in the

forest.

Again, the misha of certain big animals generally consist of other small objects. Thus in the stomach of the tapir (sacha huagra) small balls [165] of hair are frequently found, probably owing to the habit of these animals of licking the sweat off each other's skin and swallowing the hairs. When the Canelos Indian goes out to hunt the tapir, he rubs the fell of the dogs with such a ball of hair. The dogs' noses are by this means supposed to become particularly keen in tracing the tapir.

Again, in the bowels of the deer the Indians say they sometimes find certain small round wooden pins the existence of which they cannot explain in a natural way. These pins form the misha for attracting and killing the deer. Consequently they are kept with the same care as other similar charms, and when the Indian wants to hunt the deer he scrapes, with a knife, a little powder from each pin and puts it into the food given to the dogs before starting. The charm will attract the animal, and the dogs will have ability and strength to trace and pursue it.

The misha for attracting certain birds and animals may also consist in a small parasite, the garapata or tick, living on these birds or animals. This small insect is said to be especially found in the down under the wings of the tucan, a bird much hunted by the Indians both on account of its flesh and its brilliant feathers. The tick living on the

tucan is, however, said to be very difficult to catch. As soon as the bird, killed by the shot or the poisoned arrow, falls to the ground, the parasite quits the body of the bird and disappears. Sometimes, however, it happens that a wounded tucan, when it falls down from the tree, still keeps the little insect, and the experienced Indian hunter, who quickly seizes the bird and knows where to seek the tick, is able to catch it. He immediately shuts it up in a small gourd in the same manner as is done with other kinds of misha. When the hunter goes out in the forest to shoot a tucan, he carries this charm, and whilst wandering about seeking the bird he shakes the gourd containing the tick in the belief that it will attract the bird. The tick is therefore called aicha mama, 'the mother of the game'.

The aicha mama which is a tick is also said to be found in the coats of certain quadrupeds, like the wild hog (huangána), and is used in the same way for hunting that animal.

The Canelos Indians appreciate their misha extremely, considering their whole luck in hunting bound up in a mysterious way with these small objects. An Indian who sells or gives away his misha thereby not only gives away the power of killing game with this particular charm, but his whole luck in hunting in general. He will not be able to kill any more birds or animals with gun or with poisoned arrows. It is, therefore, very difficult to induce an Indian to sell these charms, and a price [166] must always be paid

for them which stands in no reasonable proportion to their real value.

Another charm for attracting and killing the tucan is a small plant which is called by some Canelos Indians sicuánga ahuiringri, by others sinsimbu. The juice contained in this plant is pressed out with the fingers and taken as a 'medicine' by the Indian hunter eight days before he starts hunting. It is supposed to attract the tucan and to make it tame, so that it can be easily shot. During the following eight days, or until the Indian starts, he has to fast strictly, being allowed to eat only boiled plantain. If he does not fast, the plant sicuanga ahuiringri or sinsimbu will fail to attract the bird.

There is a fowl frequently hunted by the Indians, called by its Spanish name mondete by the Canelos Indians, and ayáchu by the Jibaros. When the Indians have killed and eaten this bird, they take care not to let the dogs eat its bones, since otherwise the dogs will deteriorate and become unable to trace the bird. This bird generally lives on the low bushy banks of the river near the forest, and when it is disturbed by the dogs it flies up into a tree where it can be easily shot. But if the dogs have previously eaten the bones of the bird, then the bird, when scared by the dogs, flies up into a tree, but is immediately drawn again to the ground, from where it again flies up into a tree, again falls to the ground, and so on, so that the hunter gets no opportunity to shoot it. This peculiar behaviour of the bird is due to the dogs having previously eaten its bones.

The Canelos Indians have the same superstition in regard to the great macaw, guacamayo. The dogs are therefore never allowed to eat the bones of this bird.

When the Jibaros and Canelos Indians go out hunting on hills, especially on some they have never visited before, they take care not to speak loudly but keep strict silence. Nor do they use their firearms on those hills but merely their blow guns with which they can kill the animals without making any noise. If they speak loudly or shoot with a gun, the spirit of the hill will be angry and immediately send a heavy rain, the hunters being then unable to kill any game. The hills and high mountains, according to the ideas of the Canelos Indians and the Jibaros, are inhabited by particularly malicious spirits (supai, iguánchi), who are the souls of dead sorcerers or medicine-men.

A good Indian hunter is supposed to be able to transfer his skill in shooting birds and animals with the blowgun to another younger Indian by taking some juice of tobacco into his mouth and blowing it directly [167] into the nose of the other Indian. This custom is due to the superstitious ideas the Indians have about tobacco in general, which is one of their great 'medicines'.

When a young Indian feels that his sight is not strong enough to aim at the birds and animals with the blowgun, he goes to the oldest man of the family, or to a medicine-man, tells him what is the matter with him, and asks for a remedy. The old man then generally takes the fruit of utchu or Indian pepper, parts the pod, takes out some of the

seeds and puts them straight into the eyes of the younger Indian, at the same time whistling and chanting a conjuration. This operation, owing to the strong properties of the pepper, at first makes the young man almost blind, but afterwards, it is supposed, he will become extremely keen sighted in aiming and shooting with the blowgun.

When a son is born among the Canelos Indians, the father has to fast for eight days and is not allowed to go out hunting in the forest or to do any work. When the eight days have elapsed and the father goes out hunting for the first time, he takes some ceibo (wild cotton), which he uses to fit the arrow into the blowgun when he shoots, makes a small ball of it and throws it upon his new-born son. This is supposed to make the child a very good hunter in the future."

"...the wild JIBAROS also use those charms for hunting which consist of small stones and other objects found in the stomachs of animals and birds, calling them yúkka. The Jibaros however, do not seem to attribute the same extraordinary importance to these charms as the Canelos Indians. Likewise, although the Jibaro Indian never fails to paint his face and his body with roucou before starting on a journey through the forest or a voyage on the river, believing that the body-painting will give him strength, he does not do it especially with the idea that it will attract the game. On the other hand, all Indians are imbued with the idea that the bones, and especially the skulls, of animals killed in hunting have the power of attracting the same species of animals. This is the reason why almost in every Jibaro hut one can find a number of skulls and other bones of animals killed in hunting during recent months and even years. The different skulls are connected with each other by a string and the whole row is hung from the ceiling, [168] where the bones are thus kept after being carefully freed from flesh and washed. The feathers and heads or beaks of birds are kept in the same way and for the same purpose. These objects not only serve as charms for continued good luck in hunting, but at the same time are trophies which fill the Indian with pride and show the visitors what a skilled hunter the head of the house is.

Sometimes, when the Jibaro Indian is out hunting and has killed for instance a monkey and eaten it in the forest, he afterwards makes the skull of the animal clean

and suspends it, tied to a vine, between two trees in the neighbourhood of the place where he shot it. The skull is then supposed to draw other monkeys to the same place.

All Indians, when hunting, make great use of the method of imitating the sounds of the birds and animals they are seeking in order to attract them, and they generally do it with unrivalled skill. They especially imitate the cries of different birds, but also the sounds of various quadrupeds, the grunt of the hog, the whistling of the tapir, the peiping of the small rodent aguti, etc. This of course is really a good way of decoying the game, but to the mind of the Indian the method is also mixed with superstition: in his religion he imitates the spirits in the same way when he wants to summon them.

To catch certain birds and small animals the Jibaros use a kind of trap, just as in their wars they make use of other traps to defend themselves against their enemies. There are two different small traps which play a part in the hunting of these Indians. The one is called timbya: generally speaking it consists of two sticks or tree branches, one larger lying on the ground and often covered with dry leaves, the other smaller lying on the first one when the trap is closed. When the trap is open, one end of the thinner stick is bent upwards, so as to form an angle of about 30 degrees ground, with the [sic] and is connected with the lower stick by means of certain strings. The trap is so constructed, that when the bird or the animal steps upon the stick lying on the

ground, the upper stick falls upon it with force, crushing it or keeping it fixed. The mechanism by which the upper stick is kept bent and released is rather complicated and cannot be accurately described in words. This trap is placed in the forest on the narrow path frequented by pigeons, partridges, and certain parrots, or small animals like the agouti and the squirrel. Sometimes it is also placed in the house with a view to catching rats and frogs coming in at night.

The other trap is called kuáka. It consists essentially of a small [169] flexible branch of a tree fixed in the ground in a vertical position. To the top of this stick a thin liana or a chambira string is attached, the end of which forms a snare. In order to make the trap ready to operate, the stick is bent down against the earth and in a certain simple but ingénious way fastened to another small stick fixed in the ground. The latter, again, is connected with a thin stick lying on the ground, upon which the end of the string, forming a snare, is laid. When the bird steps upon this stick on the spot where the snare is laid, the branch bent against the earth is released and flies up, the bird being thereby caught in the snare by the legs and lifted in the air. Pigeons and partridges are the birds most frequently caught with this trap."

"Of greater importance to the Jibaro Indians for hunting than all charms and traps are, however, their dogs, which, as pointed out before, are bred with extraordinary care. The 'feast of the dogs', Yawápani, is one of the five great feasts of the Jibaros, and takes place when the training of a young dog is completed and it is supposed to be able to track and hunt game. Just as the Jibaro, when he is about to marry, makes a special feast for his young wife to impart to her strength and ability for agriculture and other work incumbent upon a housewife, [170] so he makes a feast for his young dog when it is full-grown, in order to give it a keen nose for tracking game and strength and endurance for pursuing it.

When a Jibaro has bought a small dog which he proposes to breed for hunting, both he and his wife start to fast, submitting themselves to certain rules with regard to diet which are observed for a couple of years, or until the feast has taken place. The kind of food which the masters are not allowed to eat is of course still more strictly denied the little dog. Thus the Jibaro and his wife as well as the dog must not eat chicken, since otherwise the dog will get tape-worms which easily breed in the bowels of the chicken. Nor must they eat the stomach and intestines of any animal, lest the dog should grow small, weak and useless. They must also abstain from eating a kind of sweet potato cultivated by the Jibaros called kingi, the stalk of which has the form of a vine, for if they eat them the dog will get crooked legs like this vine. Nor must

they eat another root, somewhat like the manioc, called sángu, lest the dog should get the itch. As soon as the little dog has grown somewhat bigger and is able to eat substantial food, the liver of some animal, generally that of the hog, is given it to eat. The liver is soft enough for the tender teeth of the dog, and moreover, since the soul of an animals[sic] is believed to be present in its liver, the dog is supposed to become skilled in hunting the wild hog by eating that part of its body. The dog is not allowed to roam about at liberty in the forest, because it may be harmed by meeting some demoniac animal or some evil sorcerer, who may shoot his magic or bewitched arrows at it so as to make it fall ill and die. The master of the dog himself, during the rearing time, must take care not even to look at a jaguar or a smaller species of the feline family, a vulture, or a venomous snake, for these animals are possessed by evil spirits, the souls of witch-doctors, and if he sees them the dog will pine away and die.

When the dog is full-grown and supposed to be able to track and hunt game, the feast Yawápani takes place. When this feast is made on a large scale, it is almost as grand as the head-feast or the feast of the women. Even the ceremonial drinking of natéma formerly took place at the Yawápani, just as it still forms a ceremony at some of the great feasts. It is preceded by the usual preparations, the planting of manioc and plantain, the brewing of a large quantity of manioc-beer, the making of new clay

vessels, and so on. The feast proper lasts three days, and the ceremonies, as is the case at all feasts, are led by an old man or priest, called whuéa. [171]

Three days previous to the feast proper a conjuration takes place consisting of a special dance, called Wuimchi, at which different birds and animals, which the Jibaros most generally hunt, are enumerated. The dance begins when darkness sets in and is continued the whole night, until dawn. It is performed by young men, invited to the feast, who move round one of the pillars in the middle of the house holding each other by the hand. The conjurers, whilst thus moving round, again and again mention certain birds, valued by the Jibaros, like the tucan (tsukánga), the paugi (máshu), the wild turkey (kúyu), and the parrot (kávashu), and of animals especially the wild hog (pákki) and different kinds of monkeys, which are much hunted by the Indians on account of their flesh, their teeth, which are strung into necklaces, and their skin, which is used for drums and for making small bags which the Jibaros carry when travelling.

The object of this conjuration, which also takes place at the victory feast and the feast of the women, is of course to give the 'feaster' good luck in hunting with the new dog.

During the feast proper the principal ceremony consists in a magical drink being repeatedly given the dog. This drink is prepared from a small plant, specially cultivated for this purpose by the Jibaros, which is called kungúna. The leaves of the plant are boiled together with the leaves of the guayusa (Ilex), a tree which plays an important part

in certain magical rites of the Indians. It is the priest, whuéa, who has to give this medicine to the dog. For this purpose he first fills his mouth with tobacco smoke and blows it upon the dog, then he opens its mouth and puts a little of the liquid into it, at the same time chanting an incantation or conjuration adapted for the occasion. This ceremony is repeated several times in the course of one or two days of the feast. Again, each night from about 6 o'clock till dawn, a general dance, called Ihiámbrama, is performed, which takes place at all feasts of the Jibaros. Both the men and the women take part in this dance wearing the usual festal ornaments, moving in a ring in the middle of the house and chanting incantations. On the third and last day of the feast the priest washes the eyes of the dog with a special solution, prepared by soaking a leaf, called shishíngya, in water. Other Jibaros, again, make a certain poisonous ant bite the dog in the eyes. By this procedure the dog is supposed to get strong eyes and a good nose for tracking the game. This done, the priest initiates the mistress of the house into her coming duties with regard to the dog, since she has to take care of the hunting dogs and to feed them. The priest [172] first gives the woman tobacco juice to drink, then grasps her by the right hand, makes her take a piece of boiled manioc from a gourd held ready and give it to the dog, whereupon he makes her caress its back with her hand. Finally the priest paints the dog with genipa, as is done with men and women at all great feasts,

applying the black dye to the fell of the animal from the nose downwards along the stomach. This ceremony brings the feast of the dogs to an end.

This feast, however, is not always celebrated on such a large scale, nor is it exclusively made for young dogs which are to be initiated for hunting. When an old dog is growing too lazy to pursue game and losing the power to track it, is [sic] owner may improvise a small feast for it, at which he himself gives the dog the medicine prepared from the kungúna and the guayusa leaves, accompanying the ceremony with the usual incantations and conjurations. He may give the dog kungúna repeatedly during the day, whereupon he takes it out in the forest to see whether it has regained its power. If the result is not satisfactory, he may give it the same medicine the next day, and so on, until it takes effect and the dog recovers its power.

The drink prepared from the kungúna, owing to some extraordinary properties ascribed to this plant, is supposed to exert a mysterious, favourable influence upon the dog, making it strong and vigorous to pursue game. The kungúna thus plays much the same part at the 'feast of the dogs' as tobacco plays at other great feasts of the Jibaros. The idea that underlies all feasts of these Indians is that the magic medicine then taken will fill the person in question with supernatural power, which is automatically transferred to every sphere of his life. It is the same with the feast Yawápani. The mysterious power which is imparted to the dog will, as it were mechanically, display itself

in the good luck which ever afterwards follows its master in hunting: in his house there will thenceforward be no lack of game. At least this will infallibly be the case if the ceremonies have been duly performed and the owner of the dog as well as his wife have, during the time of preparation, fasted in the way prescribed by custom. Should the result of the feast be unsatisfactory and the dog prove of little use for hunting, their explanation is that its masters have infringed the rules of diet, or else committed some fault in celebrating the feast.

As already mentioned, it is the duty of the housewife to feed and take care of the dogs. Just as the married Jibaro woman is believed to have a mysterious influence upon the fields which she cultivates, so she is [173] supposed to exert a similar influence upon the hunting dogs confided to her care. The competence of the dogs and the plentifulness of game in the house thus correspond to the ability of its mistress. Hence, when at the 'tobacco feast of the women' (noa tsángu) the newly married Jibaro woman is initiated for her coming obligations as a housewife, mention is made not only of the fields and of different domestic plants, the swine, and chicken, but also of the dogs, and special incantations are addressed to the Earth-mother Nungüi on behalf of these domestic animals.

After the feast Yawápani the dog is taken out in the forest together with other older dogs to hunt, the wild hog being the game then especially sought. As soon as a hog or

some other animal has been killed with the aid of the dogs, the back of the newly-initiated dog is thickly coated with its blood. By this procedure it is supposed to become keen in hunting that animal.

The new dog is never allowed to eat the bones of the first animal killed with its aid, for if it did it would be entirely spoiled. Nor must these bones be eaten by any other animal. When the game has been eaten, the Jibaros carefully collect all the bones to guard them. This is considered so important, that if some pieces of the animal killed have been distributed to other houses, the owner of the dog afterwards reclaims all the bones left after eating the flesh. The bones are washed, carefully arranged in a basket and hung up in the roof of the house, where they are kept for a long time until they are half-consumed by the dry air and the smoke. Then they are thrown away into the river to be carried away by the stream. This is done in order that the dogs or the domestic swine shall not be able to eat them. If they eat them, the new dog will deteriorate entirely and become useless for hunting.

The Jibaros do not generally allow their hunting dogs to roam about alone in the forest, because they may take harm by eating exrcements [sic] or by encountering a tiger, a snake, or some other demoniac animal. The dogs, as we have seen before, are as a rule tied up in the women's department of the house, a precaution also necessary because of their fierceness, which makes them attack any stranger visiting the house.

1: Karsten--169-173 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 224, 231 (1928-29)

Some Jibaros do not keep their best hunting dogs in the principal house at all, but in distant tambos (small hunting houses) in the forest. This measure is due to fear that some wicked sorcerer who visits the house should bewitch the animals, secretly looking at them with the evil eye, or shooting his magic arrow (túnchi) at them, so as to cause their death or otherwise harm them. --"

1: Karsten--174 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 787, 276 (1928-29)

"Just as the Jibaros take certain narcotic drinks when they are preparing for war, to see whether they will be lucky or not in the undertaking, so they also understand a kind of divination in regard to hunting. The drink then used is prepared of the guayusa, (Ilex sp.) the leaves of which are boiled in water for the purpose. The guayusa is not a real narcotic but a tonic, to which the Indians ascribe magical purifying effects. The Jibaros, however, seem to believe that the drink produces dreams of divinatory significance or, more strictly speaking, what they call 'small dreams', especially such as have reference to hunting.

When the Jibaro gets up in the morning, his first act is to place a small clay pot on the fire to prepare his guayusa (weisa), of which he then takes a small quantity, washing the mouth with the rest. If the liquid in the guayusa pot boils well so that the water whirls round rapidly, the Jibaro thinks that on that day he will have good luck in hunting. On the other hand, if the guayusa does not boil well, he believes that on that day he will not be able to kill any game. In the dream the same thing can be 'seen' (wuimektingu), and this is considered more important. If the Jibaro dreams that he sees his guayusa pot boiling furiously, so that the water whirls round as in a whirlpool, he is convinced that on the following day he will have good luck in killing the wild hog, monkeys, birds, and other animals, and the young men in the house are sent out into the forest to look for game.

In general the Jibaros have the idea that the guayusa makes the body strong and swift, particularly for hunting. This also explains why the guayusa forms a part of the medicine given the dogs at the feast Yawápani."

2: Stirling--85 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 224

"Attached to the dart quiver (pl. 36) is part of the jaw of a fish with sharp teeth (Serrosalmo piraja). This instrument is used for making a circular cut around the dart about an inch from the point so that this section will break off in the wound. This procedure is particularly necessary in shooting monkeys, as a monkey always will attempt to pluck the dart out immediately upon being hit."

2: Stirling--105[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 224, 153

"The Jivaro is at his best when hunting in the forest. His knowledge of the habits of the game animals, his keen ears and eyes, his ability to imitate the calls of animals and birds, all contribute to his success in the hunt. Where a white man could walk through the forest without being aware of any game in the vicinity, the Indian is constantly aware of the presence of birds and animals and is able to tell from the sounds just what varieties they might be..

A common Jivaro method of hunting is to construct in a suitable location a blind made of palm leaves in which the hunter sits quietly with his blowgun, from time to time repeating the calls of certain birds or animals so that the game will come to him instead of his pursuing the game. Great patience is exhibited in this form of hunting, and as a rule is rewarded by success."

2: Stirling--105-106 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 224

"When any member of a jivaría locates the trail of a herd of peccaries or wild hogs a community hunt is organized. Preparations for such a hunt constitute somewhat of a social occasion. All of the dogs owned by the jivaría are put on leash and, under the care of the women, are brought with the hunting party into the forest to the point where the trail of the herd has been seen. A consultation then takes place between the leading men in order to decide the probable course taken by the herd. Many things are taken into consideration, such as the direction of the wind, the occurrence of trees furnishing suitable foods on which the animals are likely to be feeding, the physical nature of the terrain itself, and the probabilities of the herd being turned aside by streams or gullies. After the likely location of the herd is determined, various individuals are spread through the forest to act as drivers, while others are stationed [106] with their weapons at favorable points where it is expected the animals will be driven past."

"Guns, lances, and blowguns are all used. The peccary is a dangerous animal when aroused and a man in the path of a charging herd is forced to take to a tree in order to save his life. Because of this fact, a great deal of excitement prevails at the final contacting of the game. The beaters with their dogs have all arranged a series of signals sounding like bird calls, by means of which they make their presence and position known one to the other. With the dogs howling as the trail is struck, the woods are filled with bedlam as the animals are driven out and swing into motion.

As the herd approaches, grunting and with teeth clashing, the hunters stationed along the path grow excited as the shooting begins. Those with guns fire and reload as rapidly as possible. The men with lances station themselves at the base of trees where they are able to receive the rush of the animals, lancing one or two if possible as they charge, and then immediately taking to the tree above them in order to escape the rest. As soon as the herd has arrived, all of the Jivaro hunters are to be seen seated on the lower limbs of small tree, frantically ramming charges in their muzzle loaders or shooting blowgun darts as rapidly as possible into the herd of charging animals. The men with the lances lower themselves from the trees in order to use their lances effectively, but taking care not to allow themselves to fall to the ground or get in the path of the peccaries.

In due course of time the excited animals rush past and the hunters descend from their perches and collect all that have been killed. Those shot with poisoned darts it is necessary to follow a considerable distance. All of the dead animals are then brought together,

singed, cleaned, and carried back many weary miles through the jungle to the jivaría. All of the carrying is done by the women. In case there are not enough to bring all of the animals which have been killed, instead of the men helping so that it could be done at one trip, the women return and make a second trip in order to secure the remainder.

Meat which is obtained as the result of a community hunt is divided among the hunters by the curaka. On one occasion when we were present at a peccary hunt of this sort we were unable to purchase any meat because of the fact that, inasmuch as it had been a community venture, there was no one entitled to receive payment for it. The only solution was to give us part of the meat as our share for participating in the hunt.

Another mass method of killing wild pigs or peccaries is to drive them into a large stream where they are pursued in canoes and lanced in the water. A hunt of this nature was witnessed on the Marañon when five pigs were secured from a large herd crossing the river."

2: Stirling--107 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 262, 224

"Certain of the available animals are not utilized by the Jivaro for food purposes on account of magical taboos. Notable among these exceptions are the deer and tapir. Deer are considered to contain tsarutama of the feared spirit, Iguanchi. The Indians have no hesitancy in killing deer and furnishing them to white people to use as food, but no Jivaro will partake of deer meat himself. In the same way, in some regions, the flesh of the tapir is taboo."

3: Simson--391 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 224, 581

Once a proficient hunter [KS: the Canelo] and possessor of good poison, of which fact the community is made aware by the number of toucans' tails with which he adorns his person--this bird being one of the most difficult to kill as it is nearly always seen at the tops of the highest trees and is one of the toughest preys to the Tecuna poison--he finds no difficulty in successfully making his advances to any young squaw to whom he may have taken a fancy. In reality there is little romance in the Indian maiden's preference for the greatest hunter: her 'penchant' for him lies in the hard probability that he, above others, will be more likely to provide her with an abundance of animal food."

4: Up de Graff--213-214 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 278

"The big monkeys are the hardest game to bring down with shot-gun or rifle. I have shot them to pieces with a Winchester, until their entrails actually fell to the ground, before they have fallen. Even when dead, very frequently they remain suspended by the tail, and the tree has to be climbed before they can be recovered. But the poisoned dart from a blow-gun, as long as the skin is broken at any point, kills them within two minutes. Experiments which I have carried out on domestic animals have proved, moreover, that the poison (of which I brought home a small quantity) acts painlessly, the effect being much the same as an overdose of morphine. This fact leads me to believe that a drug could be manufactured from the same vegetable which would be invaluable in medicine. A trial was once made in the Guianas by an English naturalist with the same drug (under the local Indian name of huareli) on a bullock, which died in twenty minutes as a result of three arrow wounds. The vine from which it is made grows in great profusion throughout the Upper Amazon zone, and the process is simple in the extreme. It is cut into sections a foot in length, and the thin hard outer crust of bark is carefully removed by [214] scraping. The main bark, white when first exposed to the air, turns brown in just the same way as an apple. This inner bark is scraped into fine shavings by means of shells and flints, and these are placed in a colander which rests upon a pot in which water is boiling. The water is poured over the contents of the colander repeatedly, until the constant action on it has drawn out the alkaloid, when the lifeless shavings are thrown away and the residue is boiled down until it resembles, both in

consistency, colour, and smell,plain chocolate. While still warm, it is poured into the bamboo receptacle previously described and when cool, it becomes semi-solidified.

Of course there is a great deal of superstition among the Jívaros in connection with the manufacture of this poison. The medicine man alone can make the pots which are used to boil it, and he is furthermore the only person who is privileged to make the poison itself. He collects the stings from various species of noxious insects. Spiders' teeth are also greatly favoured; both these ingredients are introduced into the pot with due ceremony and unlimited confidence in their deadliness. If water can be obtained from the spot where a rainbow touches the earth, then indeed the brew will be immeasurably potent! But be that as it may, the poison which we bartered to the Antipas had not been tempered with any strange charm, as we who made it know, and yet it is declared by them to be the best they had ever used.

There is really a certain amount of risk and danger connected with its manufacture, insomuch as the fumes given off by the boiling liquid are pungent and noxious. I believe that they would prove fatal if inhaled in sufficient quantities; which supposition lends credence to the stories of the Indians that many a medicine man has been found dead over the pot."

"The anungatas (steersmen--Jívaro) made for the shore. We landed, all of us except Game and Noagra, who stood guard over the canoes. Game was a little chary of venturing barefoot into the woods, after what he had gone through on our passage upstream. Then started an exhibition of rifle versus blow-gun, in which the latter came out with flying colours. The type of monkey which we were after, the coto (the howling monkey--Inca), weighs about thirty pounds, and is like the ostrich, in that it hides its eyes in the conviction that it is itself concealed from its enemies. Hanging by its hands, feet and tail from the underside of one of the big limbs, it remains immobile, and even the crack of a rifle does not scare it into flight. This animal is the evening and morning 'songster' of the Amazon woods. At sunrise and sunset, each troupe parades in single file about the branches of the tree which is their temporary home, uttering a deep growling call which can be heard for miles. The first time I heard it, a monkey was the last thing which occurred to me; it seemed that all the tigres on the Amazon were engaged in a death-struggle. Breaking through the silence of dawn, the loneliest hour of the twenty-four, it drowns the squawk of the waking parrots, and sets the woods reverberating. The coto has ten fingers and as many toes, and its tail, two and a half inches in diameter at the thickest part, is tremendously powerful. When shot, he first lets go his hand-grip, and then his feet loosen [227] their hold; last of all his tail slips gradually from the branch to which it is tied, and down he crashes. Sometimes he dies where he hangs, his tail coiled about the limb in a grip which tightens more and more as

his body grows cold. That was when Ungucha had a chance of showing his skill as a climber. Up the strands of bejuco he went, hand over hand, a hundred feet and more, until he was among the topmost limbs of a big tree where he swung from branch to branch until he reached his prey, which came crashing to earth a moment later."

4: Up de Graff--232-234 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 251

"Finding plenty of hog-tracks in the vicinity, we de[233]cided to hunt them down and cure their meat against the day when we should be setting off up-stream once more. The meat of these hogs or peccariesi seems to preserve its flavour, despite the daily smoking to which it must be subjected to protect it from insects, better than any other meat to be found in the forest. Of this game there are two species, the huangana and the sajina (both Inca); the former is more the shape of a domestic pig than anything else, is black, and weighs about a hundred pounds; it carries a musk-sack on the middle of the back, the use of which is somewhat obscure to me; perhaps it may be a form of protection against insects; anyway, a man can track them through the woods by scent as easily as a hound follows a hare, so powerful is the smell they leave behind them on every object against which they rub. It is armed with a pair of fine tusks set in the lower jaw, which it uses both to dig up roots, and to rip the entrails out of its antagonists, the jaguars. The latter are afraid of them, but occasionally follow a herd in the hopes of being able to grab a young hog and make off with it. Not always do they succeed, and when caught their fate is sealed. They are torn to pieces by the infuriated beasts and devoured, head, tail, skin and feet. The huangana will eat snakes, lizards, and anything else that he can find. The herd can be smelt a full mile away if the wind is set right, and long before one is found it will be heard rooting and snuffling in the ground, cracking nuts, one animal fighting another for the tidbits which the monkeys have dropped. The herd often numbers two hundred or more and will attack on sight. To approach

these beasts is easy, for they are too busily occupied in searching for food; their sight and scent are not highly developed, no doubt because they have never had to fear anything that walks in the woods. If you are stalking these animals you will be wise to select [234]your tree before you cover the last fifty yards (and see that the tree contains no ants' nor hornets' nests!) When the nearest huangana sees you, he will utter his war-cry--an ominous rattling of his tusks--which is taken up by the whole herd. A noise is produced which is at the same time fearful and wonderful. It is like a thousand pairs of castanets. It echoes and re-echoes round the woods until it seems to come from every tree. With what terrific speed the lower jaws of this animal must vibrate to give out such a volume of sound may well be imagined.

Select your tree, then, and stand ready to jump as soon as you have fired your shots. The herd will start milling round looking for something to charge, until it sees your smoke, or a movement of your body. Then jump! And may the branch bear your weight, or you will shoot no more huanganas!

The herd, usually sweeps on under the tree and leaves the hunter to descend in peace, pick up the kill, and make his way back to camp. In any event you will be left in peace, if you are not located by sight or scent, for the hogs will go tearing off in one great avalanche, charging some imaginary enemy, and will not pull up until they have covered four or five miles and feel like settling down to continue their feed."

4: Up de Graff--234-235 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 224

"The second species, the sajina or collared peccary, is [235] somewhat smaller and, though fierce enough when disturbed, is not so formidable as its cousin. Briefly it can be described as closely resembling the wild boar of Europe--thinnish wiry hindquarters, heavy shoulders, and short thickset forelegs, a lean flat barrel, bushy hair on shoulders and neck, long fierce tusks, and patches of white to relieve the dead black all over the body. It hunts in pairs, or very small groups of a few pairs.

I once had occasion to prove the temper of the sajina. Having strayed from camp a little way without my rifle (a risky thing to do, I must admit) I came across a couple rooting for food in the bush. They came out into the open to within twenty yards of where I was working with an axe, regardless of the noise and flying chips.

They would perhaps have left me alone, had I not thrown a stick to frighten them off. The challenge was accepted, however, and one of the beasts came on with such an ugly snort that I turned monkey at once and took to the upper branches. After one look into those wicked little eyes, I felt that a well-covered retirement was distinctly indicated. An axe has its uses. It is all very well for chopping trees, for if you miss your swing, the tree won't bite your leg off. For carving pork on the hoof I prefer an instrument with a longer reach."

10: Anthony--150 [4] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 224, 153

"The men are hunters of the highest order, and are keen observers of all that takes place in the jungle about them. They penetrate the thickest tangle, using game trails wherever they find them; the bear makes many a highway for these hunters. They never get lost and their highly developed sense of direction enables them to point back at any time toward a given place, such as the camp they left in the morning. This ability is known to those whites who occasionally penetrate into 'Jivaría.' Sometimes a white man, wishing to test their powers, will ask them at different times to point out the direction to camp or to a certain river, thereby earning the supreme contempt of the Jivaro, who thinks that any fool should know such simple matters."

10: Anthony--152-153 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 411

"A great part of their game the Jivaros kill with the blowpipe or blowgun. The blowpipe is a long, slender rod of wood, made from two strips which are carefully hollowed out down the midline, in such fashion that when bound together by a long strip of bark there is a straight, smooth, cylindrical bore the full length of the rod. The blowpipe is generally made of black palm, which has a very tough, interlacing fiber, so that the rod, though slender, has great strength and will not warp or twist. The ammunition for this weapon may be either little balls of clay or arrows. Clay is shaped into small balls, of a diameter just big enough to fit the bore. These balls, after having been baked in the sun, are placed in the mouth and blown through the tube as a small boy blows a bean in a toy blowpipe, but the length of the Indian blowpipe, often eight to ten or more feet, gives the clay ball a great velocity. As a result the projectile will kill small birds or mammals such as squirrels or rabbits. The arrows are long, slender strips of cane, straight and with a sharpened point; a tuft of cotton is twisted about the rear end of the arrow to make it fit the bore in an airtight manner. These arrows fly exceedingly true and game may be struck with them at long distances. For larger game poison is used; for small birds the arrow is plain.

For this purpose the Jivaros use a black gumlike substance brought up from the lower Amazon and undoubtedly a form of curare. The arrows are prepared by dipping into the

poison about half an inch of the tip which then looks very much as if it had been coated with tar. This poison is narcotic in its action and very deadly and an animal that has been wounded with an envenomed arrow will drop in a very few minutes. If the Indian is hunting monkeys, his favorite game, the arrow is scored with a knife about an inch back of the point so that it may break readily at this place. The monkey shows considerable cleverness when hunted and, if wounded, invariably plucks out or breaks off the arrow. He is outwitted, however, by this precaution, because the [153] arrow breaks and leaves the poisoned tip in the wound. I was told that salt is an antidote for the poison, and if the Jivaro wishes to take a monkey alive, he may do so by hurrying at once to a stricken animal and placing salt in its mouth."

12: Rivet--603 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 151, 224

Perfect knowledge of the forest and its inhabitants, great power of observation, an inexhaustible patience, an unheard of endurance, make the Jíbaro a hunter without peer. Hunting the tayo (Nyctidromus), the femurs of which serve to make the ornament which I described under the name tayucunchi, is one of the biggest occupations. This very mistrustful bird lives in numerous bands and sleeps in caves in rock cliffs. When the Indian discovered one of these refuges, he goes late at night and closes the opening and smokes out the poor creatures or captures them all simply by hand.

20: Dyott--160-161 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-1
116, 224

"At 7. 30 Kuashu announced his intention of going off hunting in the jungle. Without further ceremony, he picked up his long blow-gun and casually sauntered off through the plantation of young yuca growing round about the house. He made no effort to persuade others to accompany him. Anyone who wanted to come along was welcome. If nobody wanted, well and good, it made not the slightest difference. Mihanda was the only man who did not respond. Apparently, he preferred to stay at home by himself, so we left him seated on a log whittling down a long chonta stick. Why he looked so solemn we did not know, for after all the making of a spear did not strike us as being a very serious business.

We-suma and Himbikti were in sharp contrast to their elder brother. They seized their weapons eagerly and dashed after their father full of life and energy. Chingasso was the only woman to join us. She was not under quite the same obligation to toil with the rest of her kind in the family banana patch, because she was unattached and the chief's daughter at that. For a short distance the female element trailed along in the rear of our procession, carrying big wickerwork baskets on their shoulders, but within five minutes or so, they disappeared down some side track that led to one of the many plantations where they could collect the usual supply of food for the day.

It was a superb morning. By eight o'clock the sun seemed to stab into the very heart of the forest. For once those dim recesses, usually so melancholy and depressing,

seemed to pulsate with the joy of life. Every leaf held beads of silvery dewdrops, which fell in a perfect shower of crystal fragments if we as much as looked at them. Our Indian friends slipped through the rank undergrowth without jarring a petal, whereas Johnston and myself brought down a fair deluge of moisture at every movement."

20: Dyott--161
116, 224, 151

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"Once we were well clear of the house, the pace was slackened and we moved more cautiously, stopping every once in a while to listen to some forest sound that suggested the presence of game. From the moment we left, not a word had been uttered. Indians seldom talk when on the move unless they are drunk or returning from a successful chase. I have often marvelled at their ability to keep silent and pass through the densest brush without snapping a twig. The average white man with his chatter and awkward movements, disturbs the game and advertises his approach more surely than any elephant in its passage through a bamboo forest."

20: Dyott--161-162 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 224, 151

"An Indian whose hunting propensities have been aroused is a magnificent sight. To see the same man stretched out on his rack at home, you would say he was a monument of sluggish lethargy, but in the forest--what a difference! The slightest sound made by animal or bird electrifies him into action. With muscles taut, he will creep off silently as a ghost, leap on to a fallen tree, run along its slippery trunk with the agility of a panther, and vanish. For some minutes you will watch the place where he disappeared, wondering what has happened to [162] him, anxiety taking the place of wonder, and then a grunt from behind startles you out of your senses. You swing round and there stands your companion unconcernedly holding in his hand a dead tucan or some other evidence of his skill as a hunter."

20: Dyott-162 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 151, 224

"Kuashu's attention would often be arrested by some trivial sound. He would stop instantaneously, and the moment he did so everyone else followed suit. A few grimaces would be exchanged between the men, all of which had some peculiar significance which they understood, and then on again we would go.

We had been wandering about the forest for over an hour when Himbikti, in the rear, gave a low whistle, imitating the call of a paujil. It was a recognized signal, for immediately everyone became rigid. Kuashu turned his head slowly to inquire what was happening. Himbikti pointed with his chin, in the direction of some tree-tops. The movement of an arm might be seen, and is seldom employed when hunting. From the branches of a big tree, not far away, came a faint chirping. The men looked at each other and grinned. At first, it was hard to distinguish the sound from the other jungle noises, but soon even my poorly trained ears recognized the call of Humboldt's woolly monkey."

20: Dyott-162-163 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-1
116, 153, 224

"Kuashu was now a bundle of bulging muscles, a steel spring wound up ready to fly loose. He made a stealthy movement to one side, and putting a hand over his mouth, mimicked the peculiar chattering noise these animals make when disturbed. Almost immediately an answering call came from the green canopy overhead, and the rustle of leaves heralded the approach of some living creature. In a few moments a full-sized woolly monkey came swinging through the trees, peering about him and looking this way and that for the member of his family he supposed to be in difficulty. For a fraction of a second his dark body could [163] be seen clearly, leaping across an open gap in the tree-tops. This was Kuashu's chance, and he did not miss it. The blow-gun was already at his lips, and at the psychological moment a tiny dart was launched on its silent mission of death.

For a second the monkey wavered, then leapt to another branch, jumped once more, but this time lost his hold and dropped ten feet before regaining his equilibrium. He steadied himself to take yet another leap, but hesitated as if his limbs refused to obey him. Again he braced himself, but the end had come; his hold loosened, and he fell dead to the ground. The aim had been perfect; the tiny wood splinter had caught him on the shoulder, and the deadly poison which produced paralysis of the heart had done the rest.

A fairly animated conversation ensued. The monkey was passed from hand to hand,

each man admiring its thick, woolly coat and examining its strong prehensile tail, the extremity of which, on its under surface, was covered with a hard skin, like the palm of its hand. Everyone satisfied, the quarry was turned over to Chingasso to carry, and we resumed our prowl in silence."

20: Dyott--163-164 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 153, 224

"Not long after this episode, we came out on one of those boulder-strewn spaces near the river which, at one time or another, had been occupied by the scurrying waters of the Upano. We halted as usual to look about for signs of animal life, but the place was deserted and only a few shrubs waved their green foliage vacantly in the wind. We were about to take ourselves off when a small red deer broke cover on the opposite side. It saw us and immediately sprinted across the open. We-suma had his spear up in a jiffy, ready to hurl it through space at the rapidly-moving animal; but Kuashu was still quicker in getting into action. Quick as a flash, he seized a large rock, swung it over his head, and let fly with the power of a [164] catapult. The missile went sailing through the air and landed squarely on the animal's head, dropping him like a stone.

'Ihuta-Ihuta' (spear him) shouted Himbikti, rushing forward in a frenzy of excitement, and brandishing his weapon. But there was no need for such a measure. The stone had broken the deer's neck.

Things happen so quickly at times that it is difficult to take in details, especially an incident like this, which was all over in a matter of seconds. Johnston and myself gaped in astonishment. Kuashu's brilliant exhibition of skill, the precision with which the rock was flung through the air, and the sudden termination of the fray, left us speechless with admiration. Without fire-arms, what chance would a white man have in conflict with such people as these?"

"Whether it was the success of our hunt, or the chance meeting with Napi, we could not say, but Kuashu was obviously pleased with the morning's work. The stranger remained with us, and on returning home, he was treated with unusual consideration. There was quite a change in the general atmosphere of the house when we got back, and we noted that Mihanda was a different mortal to what he had been earlier in the day. He acted as if a weight had been removed from his chest. His spear was finished and his friends regarded its well-shaped lines with approval.

There was a real reason for this change of manner on Mihanda's part which needs explanation. The Jivaro finds it difficult to distinguish between himself and his [168] personal belongings. Everything he uses or makes, particularly weapons, are regarded as part of himself, and in the making of them, he instils much of his own personality. So strongly ingrained is this feeling that the making of an ordinary spear (nanki) is accompanied by a certain amount of ritual. He must eat only certain foods, his thoughts must not be disturbed by conversation with others, he must not live with his wife. If he does these things, then the spear will be worthless and he himself may die. Even the chonta wood from which spears are made is regarded with superstition. They believe that this palm, with its formidable spikes, is the abode of a very potent spirit, so that a spear made from it inspires both man and beast with fear. This intimate tie between man and his material belongings is very strong, but between members of a

family the bond is infinitely stronger. If Mihanda had been sick, then his wife and brothers would abstain from eating certain foods, for if they partook of them, it would harm the patient just as much as if he himself had done so."

20: Dyott--169-170 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 151, 224, 868

"As the weather kept fine, another excursion to the forest was planned. Kuashu, Himbikti and the small boy Katani, made up the party. Mihanda and We-suma left on some secret mission, the import of which we were to learn later, while Napi went off by himself to pay a few calls on his friends.

Our ramble through the jungle proved particularly interesting as it threw considerable light on the way children are brought up and the kind of rough education they are put through by their elders. Katani seemed quite a favourite with his grandfather, and the old man never lost an opportunity of instructing him in the use of his eyes or help develop his powers of simple deduction. [170]

We are all aware how easily some people get dizzy and lose their sense of the horizontal, but we do not realize how civilization has blurred our sense of direction. You will, however, soon find out if ever you happen to be dropped down in some virgin forest in the heart of nowhere. You will walk in circles, regardless of all nature's sign-posts which she displays for your benefit. An Indian teaches his sons to note the direction of streams, the inclination of the ground, the length of the shadows--anything, in fact, which makes him use his eyes and put two and two together so that they make four and not sixes or sevens."

"Barely fifteen minutes after our start, some tapir's tracks excited Kuashu's curiosity. They were almost invisible to me, except when we followed them out into the open across a small sand-bar near the river. After what seemed like a cursory examination, Kuashu had an interesting story to tell. He pointed out to Katani how the tracks started wandering hither and thither till at a certain spot they took a straight line for the river's margin, at which point their character changed. From this it was deduced that the animal had been disturbed while feeding , and in all probability, frightened to such a degree that he had charged through the underbrush in a hurry. Himbikti's observant eye noticed a few bloodstains on the bushes, and where small branches had been broken off he pointed out a few hairs adhering to their jagged extremities.

The whole story in English was plain enough. The tapir had been walking quietly through the woods when a jaguar had pounced upon his back. Unable to rid himself of his assailant, the tapir had wisely bolted for the river, charging through the thicket hoping to scrape his adversary off his back by so doing. The jaguar was not going to forsake his prey so easily and held on tenaciously until the wily tapir had plunged into the river and then, of course, he had to let go, or drown, because his victim could remain [171] under water much longer than he could. Farther down the stream, we encountered the tracks of the disappointed jaguar, where he had swum ashore and taken himself off to the forest.

20: Dyott--170-171
116, 151, 224, 868

(no date) 1926

Jivaro-2

All the points of the lesson having been duly expounded, we sat down on the bank of the Upano in the shade to stretch our limbs. Some years previously, Kuashu must have had an encounter with a three-toed sloth near this very spot, for he began telling Katani of the event, pointing aloft to the sprawling limbs of a tall tree, and telling how he had ascended into the topmost branches and there slain the animal with his spear. This curious denizen of the forest called U-yushi by the Indians, will hang upside-down for hours at a time from the roof of the jungle, looking like a huge parasitic plant rooted to the spot. Kuashu told Katani that many years ago this animal was a man, a very old man called U-nupi, who belonged to an enemy tribe. He was married, of course, and his wife's name was U-nuchi, and he had a brother called Yungra. U-nupi. was such a lazy fellow that he would not even take the trouble to build a house, but lived up in the trees instead. In this secure position, he slept so much and hunted so seldom that in the end his children turned into animals."

26: Brüning --64 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 262, 224

The Indians obtain their main articles of food by hunting and fishing. With regard to food they do not seem to be very choosy. They hunt simply everything. Their main hunting weapon is the blowgun. But you can also see firearms, though of the worst kind and all of them single-barrelled. Gun powder, shot and matches with protection against humidity are highly desirable barter objects, and every traveller should bring them along.

26: Brüning--65 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 224

To prevent too much deviation from the straight line, the Indians try to shoot their arrows in a vertical direction as often as possible.

In Huavico I witnessed a scene in which an older boy shot with the arrow from his blowgun a pigeon-sized bird that had strayed into the house. The arrow penetrated the bird at a height of approximately 7-8 meters and fastened it to a rafter in the roof.

26: Brüning--65 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 224, 251

The Indians frequently go on hunting expeditions in regions that have plenty of wild life. They bring the entire household (men, women, children, dogs, and especially large containers with masato) into a canoe and paddle to the hunting area. These hunting expeditions sometimes last for weeks and frequently even for months. The meat which they obtain is soon made into a durable preserve; part of the meat, however, is eaten right away. To smoke the meat, the natives build on four low posts a grill (size: one square meter) of closely placed bamboo sticks. The meat is placed upon the grill. On top the grill is covered with a roof of palm leaves. A fire is made under the grill, and the natives see to it that there is more smoke than open flames. In this manner the meat is dried and smoked at the same time. The Indians call this apparatus pungámo. Our crewmen frequently built these pungámoe close to our camping sites whenever the hunt had yielded more than we needed at the moment. Over the roof the Indians dried their itipea, if they had gotten wet.

When the Indians return from such a hunting expedition, they invite all the neighbors to a big festival. On these occasions, the rubber collectors told us, they eat up in a few days what they had hunted in many a month.

28: Tessman--351 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 411, 224

Karsten (in his Contributions, pp. 36 ff.) reports on the hunting customs. My own information is the following: The blowgun(Aguaruna: úme, Atschual: uombi) is wound with liana fiber and has no resin coating. The small sight is made of resin. The mouth-piece is a piece of tubular bone of the white-bearded peccary. They clean their blowguns with a liana which has a cotton tuft in the middle. The small arrows (tsínsak) have points that are smeared with poison (tsias); the Atschual Indians buy the latter from the whites. We gather from Karsten's reports (in Beiträge etc., pp. 1 ff.) that only a few Chiwaros have the knowhow for preparing this poison. There are many prescriptions in connection with the preparation of this poison. According to my information, the quivers are made of bamboo. They call the quiver hinduk. The little arrows are reproduced by Rivet in L'Anthropologie, XVIII, p. 366. The bamboo-quivers have a tree-calabash at the bottom; the Chiwaro-Makas Indians have such a calabash also on top.

28: Tessman--351 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 224

They have a trap with pull-action (wéiši) for birds, and a spring-trap (tšína) for small mammals. See Plate 60, Fig. 5. They manufacture a large spring-trap in which jaguars are killed. They have well-camouflaged pitfalls with palm-wood points inside. According to Karsten the Chiwaro-Makas Indians call the spring-trap timbya, while the pull-action trap is called kuáka.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

but was still largely isolated from colonists' incursions by the swift, bridgeless Río Upano and its often deep canyon (see Plate 1), which acted as an obstacle throughout its length to eastward migration by the horse-dependent settlers. These localities (excluding missions and their environs) had, together with other areas of minimal white penetration, an estimated total population of approximately 2,205 persons. Beginning with Chapter II, the present tense will be used to describe interior Jivaro culture as it existed at the time of the original fieldwork. In other words, the "ethnographic present" is 1956–57.

Whether this population in the northern and eastern portion of the tribe was larger or smaller than in previous decades is difficult to determine in the absence of written records. It does appear, however, that three of the localities involved, the Río Chiguaza region, the middle Río Macuma area, and the Río Yaupi Valley, were not occupied by the Jivaro until around the turn of the century. These occupations were the consequence of head-taking raids by the Jivaro which forced the Achuara (*akuari hutsi*) to retreat northeastward from the Chiguaza and middle Macuma areas and the Huambisa (*wampu hutsi*) to withdraw southward from the Yaupi region. This territorial expansion by the Jivaro was a by-product, rather than a conscious purpose, of their *tsawa* raids against these adjacent tribes.[20]

Once vacated, such formerly enemy-held regions attracted Jivaro from the Río Upano Valley, elderly *tsawari hutsi* informants explained, because the hunting and fishing were better than in the Upano area. The superior hunting and fishing were also given as the reason that families had, for decades at least, moved eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú to join their tribesmen already settled there. Later, when white colonists entered the Upano Valley in large numbers from the

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and to allow the inhabitants to see out and to fire at attackers. The interior of the dwelling is unpartitioned, constituting a single, long dirt-floored room with a doorway at each end. Floor plan dimensions of several houses were found to range from approximately 25 to 36 feet in width to about 40 to 60 feet in length. A representative house was 27 feet wide by 44 feet long with a maximum roof height of about 15 feet and with walls 7 feet high.

To protect the inhabitants from enemy attacks, the doorways (Figure 1, A, F) are closed with strong hand-hewn wooden doors or removable wooden posts locked into position with a crossbar. An extra layer of chonta palm staves is sometimes lashed to the house wall near the beds. This double wall covers the slits between the palm staves to protect sleeping members of the household from being shot by would-be nighttime assassins. If local feuding is at a particularly high pitch, logs may be laid horizontally against the inside of the house wall to form a breastwork about four feet high. Foxholes are also sometimes dug into the floor to permit firing from low points on the breastwork and to provide shelter for the women and children. A secret escape tunnel occasionally extends underneath the wall, coming up in the garden outside.

Houses ordinarily are occupied five to nine years, even though the gardens are abandoned more frequently, usually after three or four years' use. The chief reason given for abandoning the house after only five or six years is a scarcity of palm fire logs in the immediate vicinity. A dearth of wild game is often a supporting reason for early abandonment. If, however, palm logs and game remain plentiful, the dwelling is normally occupied until it starts rotting. The bases of the wall staves are usually the first parts to decay, but the house often is not abandoned until the roof begins to

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

356 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly
362 until the ninth year of occupancy.

If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house,
342 the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hun-
361 dred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure
[224] two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In
[628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous
[768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

342 Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the
462 building work technically could be done by the dwelling owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close
476 male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection
602 of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

342 Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together
554 with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakarma*.

595 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occu-
574 pies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the
535 size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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serves him and an overnight male visitor by the light of a burning copal torch. Then she returns to her end of the house and boils plantains and manioc. She then gives each person a serving bowl of this food. Her husband, meanwhile, has been spinning cotton yarn and talking quietly with the male visitor. The wife brings more beer and serves it.

She goes back to her end of the house and remains seated and resting by the fire for about half an hour. Then she returns, bringing more beer. Since the men do not immediately finish the beer, she stays crouching by the side of her husband, listening to the conversation (she has just eaten a little bit of manioc herself in the women's end of the house). She returns there, remains approximately half an hour, and then brings beer again. She goes back to her end of the house again for about another half hour, and then returns with more beer. This time she stays to chat a bit with her husband and then goes back to her area. It is now almost dawn.

[224]

The husband calls out to his wife to bring beer. She carries in a large pot of beer and serves continually from it until dawn. He then informs her that he is going hunting, and puts beer in his calabash canteen, takes some boiled manioc in a net bag, and his gun, and sets off with his wife and hunting dogs. The children stay at home.

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They return home from the hunt at about 2 P.M., having killed an agouti. As soon as they arrive, the man asks his wife to bring him beer, which she does. Then he butchers the agouti and she boils it in a pot. When it is cooked, she brings the pot to the middle of the house and takes out all the meat, placing it on fresh banana leaves. She calls the men to come and eat. They arise, picking up their stools, and move to the banana leaves. Then all the children come and squat around them. The wife gives one piece of meat to each child, and a separate serving bowl of meat to the male visitor.

When all is eaten, the men get up and return with their stools to where they were sitting before. They rinse their mouths

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

279 462 512 313 and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm. Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete.

[482] When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working. In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar [252] amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working. Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks [252] for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled [262] meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour, comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his [606] stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in [535] drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually [262] and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children [855] drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about [606] 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the next afternoon, when they eat.

• 224 Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more important to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing [144] an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of [222] botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[5] but this [136] variety is typically accompanied by low density of population [222] for any particular species. This low density sometimes [136]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

poses a problem for Indians engaged in collecting a specific kind of wild fruit or hunting a particular species of game. This situation is aggravated for the hunter by the fact that virtually all of the Jivaro territory has been hunted efficiently for a long period of time, with the result that game is not as abundant as in regions unoccupied by the Indians. This fact was particularly driven home to my Jivaro companions and me in 1969, when, in traveling through an unhunted "no-man's-land" between the Jivaro and the Achuara along the lower Río Corrientes, which had not been exploited because of the enmity between the two groups, we encountered unprecedented quantities of monkeys and birds.

The Jivaro, under the circumstances, do not normally find collecting a very rewarding activity, and, in hunting, they cannot afford the luxury of specializing in a few large game animals, such as might be possible in some other environments. The blowgun, suitable for hunting game ranging from small birds to large monkeys, therefore, becomes a very important food-securing weapon.

Mammals especially important to subsistence include peccary, agouti, and such monkeys as howler, squirrel, capuchin, and black. Peccary and monkey are valued for both their skins and flesh, while the agouti and armadillo are utilized generally for the meat alone. Most species of birds, except for carrion-eaters, are hunted almost daily as sources of food and for their plumage. Birds most often killed include species of parrot, toucan, dove, and curassow. Both the large and small species of toucan are particularly prized for their pelts and feathers; jaguar, ocelot and other feline species are commonly hunted for their skins (see Plate 5). Rabbits and deer, although present, are never hunted for food, the former because they are "like rats," the latter for supernatural reasons (see p. 150).

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Stalking is the chief hunting technique, both for arboreal and ground-dwelling creatures. Monkeys and large birds are usually stalked with the blowgun (see Plate 8) and darts poisoned with curare (unpoisoned darts suffice for small birds). A poisoned dart is notched around its tip so that it will break off if a monkey tries to remove it. The hunter, usually alone, but sometimes with a male companion, waits until the monkeys are calling among themselves before stepping stealthily to the base of the monkeys' tree and blowing. The maximum effective range of the blowgun rarely exceeds 100 feet, but the silence of the weapon often permits the hunter to shoot several individuals before the troop becomes alarmed and swings off through the trees. The shot monkeys drop from the trees within a few minutes. The blowgun is not considered satisfactory for hunting ground-dwelling creatures, which are killed instead with shotgun and old Winchester .44 carbines, loaded either with shot or, rarely, in the case of the latter weapon, with bullets. Shy birds, such as the toucan, are hunted more with firearms than with the shorter-range blowgun.

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The blowguns and curare dart poison are obtained almost entirely by trade from the Achuara, the Jívaro acknowledging themselves to be inferior blowgun makers and stating that they do not possess the right plants in their region to produce first-rate poison. The blowguns themselves are about seven feet long and made of a single piece of chonta palm which has been split down its length into two pieces which are grooved with great precision and bound together with fiber strips cemented into place with a black beeswax coating.

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Blowgun darts are easily made, in a fraction of a minute, by whittling the slender ribs of ivory nut palm leaves. In hunting, the darts are carried in a quiver around the neck or

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

struck through the hair over the ear, wrapped at one end with kapok to provide resistance when blown. The speed with which the darts are produced makes the blowgun an extremely economical weapon to operate compared, for example, to the bow and arrow, with which the Jivaro are not acquainted. Arrow making, as I have observed among the Conibo Indians of the Río Ucayali region of eastern Peru, is a comparatively time-consuming process, and there is always the danger of losing arrows in the treetops when hunting monkeys or birds. Blowgun darts, on the other hand, are so easy to make that their loss means little to the hunter. Also, from what I have observed, blowguns tend to be more accurate in hunting small birds at close range. A final hunting advantage, compared to the bow and arrow, is that the motion involved in using the weapon is so slight, and the flight of the darts so unnoticeable, that game is rarely disturbed if the hunter misses his target. Of course, compared to a firearm, the blowgun is even more economical, but limited in range and not sufficiently fast-acting on large or dangerous game.

Dogs are commonly used in hunting peccary, jaguars, and ocelots, although a hunter, armed with a shotgun or carbine, may stalk them alone. When taking a dog on a peccary hunt, the man is accompanied by a wife, who handles the leashed dog, and also is frequently assisted by another male hunter. Even in hunting dangerous felines, only one dog is used to tree the cat, but up to a dozen people may participate.

Blinds, game calls, and traps are the main supplementary hunting devices. Conical blinds, made by sticking palm fronds into the ground, may be constructed at feeding places of toucans, agouti, or other creatures. Game calls are employed both in blinds and when stalking. Hunters call parrots without the aid of any devices, but blow against the

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1993 SD9 Jivaro SD9

223 edge of a leaf held between cupped hands to summon toucans.

224 An ingeniously carved vegetable ivory mouthpiece is used to call agouti. This device often brings agouti to within fifteen to thirty feet of the hunter. Agouti are also sometimes dug out of their burrows by the hunters with digging sticks and aided by hunting dogs. If such efforts fail, traps are set at the mouths of the holes. Traps are otherwise rarely used.

The characteristic hunting expedition is undertaken by the individual hunter, with or without a wife and dogs, and does not usually extend beyond about eight miles from the house. He leaves the house at dawn and, if successful in killing a large animal such as monkey, peccary, or agouti, usually is home by early afternoon. If, however, the hunting is becoming poor in his area, and he has failed to secure meat for several days, he may range so far that he does not return home until dusk. He continues to go out every day until he succeeds in his quest.

224 512 461 When a man kills a large animal, he normally does not go hunting again for four or five days. A typical routine is as follows: the first day after returning from a successful hunt, he fells trees and clears slash for a garden; the next two days he rests, and does spinning and weaving in the house; the fourth day he goes to visit friendly relatives; and the fifth day he goes hunting again.

224 A second kind of hunting expedition takes place every two months or so in which the hunter, accompanied by a wife and also often by another friendly couple or two, spends about five days in more remote parts of the forest, usually seeking monkeys. Troops of monkeys are more efficiently hunted by men working together, since one hunter alone can usually only kill a fraction of the troop before the rest are startled and flee. The expedition is usually continued until its supply of manioc, plantains, and manioc beer is about to run out.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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To ensure success in hunting, young men (both married and unmarried) may join together in a small group under the supervision of an older master of ceremony (*tsnt*) to inhale tobacco smoke for a three-day period during which they alternate the smoke-inhalation sessions with hunting in the forest with blowgun. During the ritual sessions, called *kumpan*, the men take turns blowing tobacco smoke through grandus bamboo tubes into each other's lungs. It is believed that a man must entirely swallow the smoke he receives in order to be certain that he will not fail as a hunter.

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A variety of fish and shellfish is present in streams and rivers, but swift currents and the small size of many watercourses seem to limit the degree of emphasis on their exploitation in many localities. Fishing roughly contributes perhaps only a little over 5 per cent of the total diet, significantly less than hunting. Curvina, suckers, and shore-fish are taken from main streams and rivers, while crayfish and fresh-water crabs are gathered in the shallows.

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Fishing techniques range from simply wiring fish by hand to complex river-poisoning operations. The fish that are caught bare-handed belong mostly to a species (*tsayampi*) capable of fastening itself to the underside of river boulders by means of a suction pad appendage. Hook-and-line fishing is done from a riverbank. Any handy stick is used for a pole, while an iron trade hook is baited with a piece of manioc, ripe plantain, or an earthworm.

A few men possess rectangular throw nets for catching medium-sized fish. A pair of fishermen, or a man and his wife, enter the shallows about ten feet apart. One tosses an end of the net to his companion with a circular motion. As the net is drawn to shore, balsa wood floats support its top edge, while stone sinkers keep it vertical in the water. Good-

14:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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feed the large number of anticipated guests, who could not be supplied with enough meat from hunting alone. Normally, however, the contribution of the animal domesticates, essentially fowl, is less than 5 per cent of the diet.

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At least one or two dogs are kept in most households. These are only aid in hunting in the forest, as mentioned earlier, but also protect the garden crops, including the manioc tubers, from devastation by agouti and other rodents. A family without a good hunting dog lives in fear of losing much of its garden produce within a few months. An equally important service that they provide is to act as watchdogs against surprise attacks. Confined to beds in the women's end of the house (see Plate 11), their slightest barking usually results in the household head seizing his gun and preparing to defend himself and his family. Since the dogs' barking indicates that the intended victim has been alerted, the attacking party generally withdraws. Interestingly, the name for dog, *entsak*, is the same term used to designate the feared and respected jaguar.

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The importance of dogs in hunting, protecting the garden, and defense helps to explain the high degree of care they receive. When puppies are born, one of the owner's wives observes a kind of *couvade*, in which she lies abed with the birds to protect the litter from supernatural harm. A puppy is nursed by the wife as well as by its canine mother. Even in adult life, the dog normally sleeps on the bed beside its owners, and is fed premasticated manioc in a special wooden dish. Dogs, like people, are even given the hallucinogenic *Datura* to help them obtain supernatural power.

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The majority of households contain at least one pet besides the dog. Such pets, which include monkeys, marmosets, peccaries, parrots, macaws, and doves, are captured and

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14 Harner E-4, 5 [1956-1969]1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating. Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are used by men as containers for carrying the thick beer mash when hunting or traveling far.

Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing food, a wickerwork type for carrying fish, and a relatively coarse-grade plaited and double-walled basket with a banana leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other personal effects. Matting is unknown.

Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Winchester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the cartridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

773 they encountered Nunui digging clay out of the ground. She told them, "I am Nunui, and I give all the people their food. I shall teach you a song. Sing it, because you are orphans, and make pots. Take some of this clay, and as soon as you get home, make pots with it."

The children obeyed her and found themselves able to make all kinds of pots which did not break when they fired them. There had been pots before, but usually they broke in firing. The children told everyone about their success. When they grew up, their houses contained many pots, they had excellent gardens, and many people came to ask them for pots. The orphans' crops flourished, their chickens and pigs multiplied remarkably, more than those of anyone else, and they taught the other people the song which they use to this day to prevent the pots from cracking during firing.

776 231 562 Nunui is also believed to have given the dog to the Jivaro for hunting. This association of dogs with Nunui is consistent with the importance of the dogs in protecting the gardens from rodents and other destructive animals, and with the fact that they are cared for by the women. In fact, when a man [224] wishes to hunt game that requires the assistance of a dog, he asks a wife to accompany him, and to handle the dog on a [782] leash. It is believed that the presence of the woman, through her connection to Nunui, will help the man have better luck, and she constantly (and usually silently) sings to Nunui for success in getting game and also so that the dog will be protected from snakebite or other misfortune.

792 824 Women also sing to Nunui to help protect the household from attack by enemies who might be approaching through the surrounding garden. That is, they believe that the manioc plants especially have an innate desire and capability to suck the blood from any person touching them. A woman, therefore, sings to them to suck the blood of enemies, but not of

34 Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

585 [584] ...ore afternoon to the house of the girl and her parents, and sleeps that night in the men's end of the house. Before dawn, he leaves the house with a blowgun and goes hunting, attempting to kill a large number of birds and monkeys in order to impress the girl's parents with his competence. When he returns, he offers the game to the girl to cook and he awaits her final decision. If she has decided to marry him, she will squat down beside the suitor when she serves the cooked food and join him in eating it. From that moment on, they are considered husband and wife and will sleep together that night.

595 594 272 361 554 The importance of wives in producing food and beer goes far beyond the subsistence requirements of the household itself. Plural wives ensure a surplus production which will make possible adequate entertainment of visitors from other households. The Jivaro place a high value on drinking beer and eating (perhaps in that order), so that one's status in a neighborhood is greatly affected by one's generosity with beer and food. No one can expect to have many friends unless he is a good host, and he cannot easily meet the requirements of good hospitality without plural wives as a labor force.

224 595 [462] A man also prefers to have plural wives so that one will be available to accompany him when he goes hunting while the other(s) tends the household and garden. The wife who goes with him not only handles the dog and acts as the intermediary with Nunui, but also assists him by carrying a machete and a basket of manioc and other provisions. Usually the preferred companion for such hunting trips is the youngest wife, who is least likely to be encumbered with children and therefore most willing to go. The wife often looks forward to hunting trips as an opportunity to have sexual intercourse in privacy, away from the rest of the household. Having sexual relations

[595 224 933 [82]

34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

on the hunt is, however, viewed as dangerous by the man, it being believed that after intercourse he is particularly susceptible to being bitten by a poisonous snake. Nevertheless, men often engage in sexual activity when they take their wives hunting.

Men also claim that they would rather go hunting than to engage in sexual relations with the possible consequence of pregnancy, since babies interfere with the mobility of their wives to accompany them in hunting. Therefore, men usually state that they are reluctant to engage in sexual intercourse more often than about once every six to eight days. Field observations, of course, were difficult to make on this point, but my impression is that these particular statements were not too inconsistent with their behavior. Men also believe that having more than one wife decreases, rather than increases, the likelihood of reproduction. The reasoning is that a second wife permits a man to spend more time hunting and thus reduces the frequency of his acts of sexual intercourse. The arduous, mountainous travel required in hunting may also, in itself, divert potential sexual energies.

While many young wives seem to prefer the childless situation which makes it easy for them to go hunting with their husbands, an attempt at contraception is usually only made by single lovers. The attempt essentially employs sympathetic magic rather than herbs and only is believed to work if the male partner is a shaman. The girl brings him a raw chicken egg, he blows on it, and she swallows the egg while he holds her head underwater in a stream. This act is specific only to the young man, and is believed to prevent the girl forever from being impregnated by him. No vegetal abortives of any kind are known.

Women often do want children and, if no conception takes

34 Mercer E.-6. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SCI9 Zivaro SCI9

6. Horner returning home with a howler monkey which he shot with a blow-gun (on his right shoulder) and poisoned darts (Río Cenepa, 1956-57).

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refuse. If there is no infant, this will probably be her only duty. 462 857

A girl approximately six years or older may have not only the above tasks, but also directly assists her mother in garden work of all kinds, including planting, weeding, and harvesting. When her mother is making pottery, she imitates her by making and firing miniature vessels and also may form and fire miniature dogs. No dolls in human form are produced, however. A boy who may be tempted to work with clay is discouraged by his father, who advises him not to touch it or else the boy's penis will one day stay soft and limp like a coil of clay. 868 [323] [532] [926] [831]

A boy, when about four, begins to learn the art of blowgun hunting. His father gives him a small hollow reed less than a foot long and makes little darts. The child, who at that age tags along after his mother to the garden, uses it to shoot at butterflies. When he is about six, his father presents him with a real miniature blowgun and a dart quiver. Then, while his mother works in the garden, he wanders about, shooting at the hummingbirds coming to feed at the flowers of the manioc plants. Those that he kills, he brings to her to cook, which she does gravely. He is not allowed to eat them himself, it being believed that he cannot kill again if he does so. By approximately nine years of age, his skill normally has advanced to the stage that he is killing larger birds lurking in the trees around the garden. His father then takes him hunting and gives him his first formal instruction in killing game, and has him assist by carrying it home. In the house, the father encourages the development of other male skills by showing approval when the son attempts to make miniature baskets or model houses and rafts. 224 • 462 857 868 [262]

Post-puberty boys perform most of the tasks of their 000

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When this first *tsantsa* feast is concluded, the head-takers return to their separate homes and begin to make preparations for the two subsequent feasts which each of them will host individually. Since enormous quantities of beer and food are consumed at these celebrations, the head-taker normally has to clear additional garden space for his wife or wives to plant to assure an ample supply of manioc. The first of these two celebrations, named *suamak*, normally takes place no sooner than after a year, to allow time for garden clearing and the growth of a large mature crop of manioc as well as for the raising of pigs to help provide meat for the feasting. Also the host may delay the celebration in order to build a new, larger house more worthy of the occasion. Thus, often two or three years pass before a man gives the feast.

To assure a large quantity of wild game for the feast, men who are close relatives of the host separately go hunting long distances from the house for a period of approximately nine or ten days before the opening day. Lacking any mnemonic system for keeping count of the days accurately, they are able to time their return to coincide with the arrival of the guests at the feast with the aid of an ingenious device which might be called a "banana clock." That is, the host gives each hunter a green cooking banana or plantain from the same stalk, which is one of those hanging in the house to ripen for the feast. When each of the hunters' plantains is almost fully ripe, they know that it is time to return for the celebration. The host also sends or delivers plantains from the same stalk to those invited guests living at some distance so that they, too, will arrive at the same time.

The celebration lasts five days and is followed, about a month later, by the third feast (*napiŋ*). This is the largest of all, with the head-taker supplying food and drink for six days. He must be able to provide plentifully for all his guests or the

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ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jívaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jívaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jívaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

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digging of foxholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs.

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsantsa* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jivaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier.

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance.

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has